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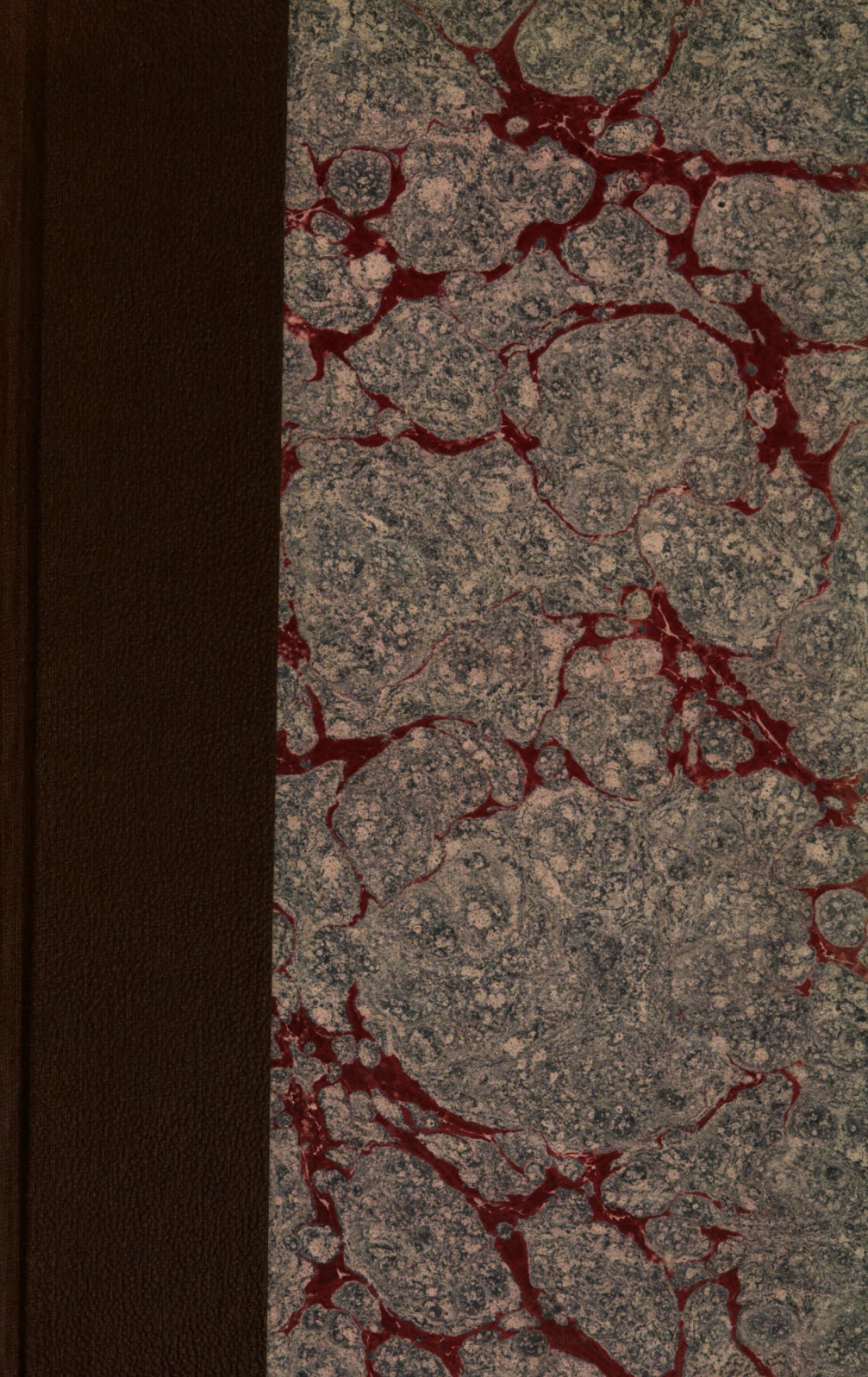
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The S.P.C.K. and the Creed of Saint Athanasius

REMARKS UPON

SOME RECENT ACTION OF THE
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY, TOGETHER WITH
A DIGEST OF EVIDENCE PROVING THE CREED
TO BE EARLIER THAN THE NINTH CENTURY

BY

G. D. W. OMMANNEY, M.A.

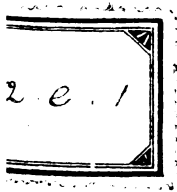
VICAR OF DRAYCOT, SOMERSET

AUTHOR OF "THE ATHANASIAN CREED: AN EXAMINATION OF RECENT THEORIES
RESPECTING ITS DATE AND ORIGIN," AND OF "EARLY HISTORY OF THE
ATHANASIAN CREED"

RIVINGTONS
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The S.P.C.K. and the Creed of Saint Athanasius.

At the monthly meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in July last, the following memorial, signed by the Rev. Nicholas Pocock, of Clifton, the Rev. R. W. Randall, Vicar of All Saints, Clifton, and the writer, was presented :—

“ The memorial of the undersigned members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

“ Showeth—

“ That the memorialists entertain grave objections to a paper on the Athanasian Creed by the Rev. J. Rawson Lumby, D.D., contained in the ‘ Book of Common Prayer with Commentary, for Teachers and Students,’ which has been recently published under the direction of the Society’s Tract Committee.

“ They object to the paper, first, on the ground of serious historical inaccuracy, because it represents the Athanasian Creed to be a work of the ninth century, whereas abundant evidence exists of its earlier composition ; and secondly, on the ground

of the dangerous tendency of such inaccuracy, because the divesting that symbol of the Catholic faith of its just and proper claim to antiquity is necessarily calculated to lower it in the estimation of Churchmen, and is only too likely to prepare the way for its disuse in the service of the Church.

“Your memorialists deeply regret that an erroneous and disparaging hypothesis respecting one of the Creeds of the Church should be put forth under the sanction of the venerable Society, and that too in a book which is expressly intended for the use of teachers and students.

“They therefore respectfully request that the said paper may be submitted to the consideration of the episcopal referees.”

It was not till the monthly meeting in January of the present year (1884) that the decision of the episcopal referees was made known, the delay being caused, I believe, mainly by the intervention of the summer holidays, as, under the new rules, the memorial had first to be referred to the Tract Committee, which did not reassemble for business till the month of October. It is as follows:—

“Without expressing our assent to Professor Lumby’s conclusion as to the date of the ‘Quicunque vult,’ from which, in fact, some of us disagree, we nevertheless are of opinion that, in a matter of historical criticism which does not necessarily affect the doctrine or discipline of the Church, we cannot

dictate conclusions to a divine of eminence who has been invited to write for the S.P.C.K.

(Signed) " WILLIAM CHESTER.

" E. K. WINTON.

" H. WORCESTER.

" C. J. GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

" H. CARLISLE."

As one of the members of the Society who signed the memorial, I cannot forbear from making a few remarks upon this decision, which I trust I may do without any breach of the respect which is due to the authors of it either officially or personally. We cannot be too thankful to the episcopal referees for withholding their assent to Professor Lumby's theory as to the date of the "Quicunque vult;" and to be assured that among five bishops there are some who positively disagree with it, is indeed a crumb of comfort. Then, that "in a matter of historical criticism which does not necessarily affect the doctrine or discipline of the Church," they "cannot dictate conclusions to a divine of eminence who has been invited to write for the S.P.C.K.," is a most safe and incontrovertible position. That in a matter of that kind it could not be their lordships' place to dictate conclusions to a professor of divinity who is invited to write for the S.P.C.K., nor even to a schoolboy making his first essay at composition, all persons, I should conceive, would freely admit. But it is difficult to perceive how this

conclusion of their lordships follows from their premiss, and indeed they appear to have felt the inconsequence themselves, otherwise why introduce the expression "nevertheless"? It is difficult, too, to perceive its relevancy. It was not a mere "matter of historical criticism which does not necessarily affect the doctrine or discipline of the Church," concerning which we appealed to their lordships, but a practical matter of great importance, affecting one of the Creeds of the Church, and therefore, I presume, affecting also the doctrine or the faith of the Church, of which they are the expression and definition. We objected to the adoption of Dr. Lumby's paper by the Christian Knowledge Society, not only on account of the erroneous nature of its conclusion as to the date of the "Quicunque vult," but also on account of its dangerous tendency by reason of such conclusion, because, divesting the Creed of the character of antiquity, it is necessarily calculated to lower it in the estimation of Churchmen, and thus to prepare the way for its disuse in the service of the Church. I am convinced that our estimate of the practical importance of the matter is not exaggerated or untruthful. I recollect soon after Mr. Ffoulkes's theory was broached, when Church-people were startled by its novelty and boldness, as well as the confidence with which it was put forward, and before they had had time to examine it for themselves and discover its utter groundlessness, reading

in the *Times* a letter by a well-known and respected London clergyman of Broad Church views, in which it was asserted that, if once the English mind became persuaded that the Athanasian Creed was a work of the ninth century, its abandonment by the Church would inevitably follow. I felt strongly the truth of this assertion. To the English mind the ninth century—the age which produced the false Decretals—is an age of unmixed corruption and complete darkness, out of which no good thing can come; and, considering the value attached by our divines to Christian antiquity, to divest the Quicunque of the character of antiquity is the sure way to weaken the grounds for its retention by the Church of England. What we asked, then, the episcopal referees to do was to exercise the powers of their office, not for dictating conclusions to a divine of eminence on a point of no real importance, but for preventing an hypothesis, which is not only erroneous but disparaging to one of the Creeds of the Church, from being disseminated under the sanction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in a book intended for the use of teachers and students. The referees had already applied the pruning-knife to the Prayer-book Commentary for the purpose of paring away some trifling inaccuracies on the comparatively unimportant subject of ritual, and we trusted that they would see their way to removing from it a grave and pernicious error respecting one of the Creeds. But in their lordships' judgment,

apparently, the issue at stake is nothing more than a question of historical criticism, and so they dismiss the case without assenting to Professor Lumby's theory. The consequence is that the mischief which we hoped and tried to prevent must go on unchecked. The venerable, the safe and orthodox old Church Society is henceforth to tell Sunday school teachers and students in theology—a large and important class, consisting mainly of young persons who have not had the opportunity of examining the subject for themselves, and whose opinions are in process of formation—that the Athanasian Creed is not older than the ninth century ; and the hypothesis will find the more ready acceptance with these students and teachers as coming from what is commonly considered a reliable authority. The evil, too, is intensified by the fact of the objectional essay being contained in a book which is sure to obtain a large circulation on account of its cheapness and the excellence and value of several of its articles—a book which would be really good but for the dead fly in the ointment. Is it possible for any one who values the Athanasian Creed as a precious inheritance from Catholic antiquity, and desires that it may not be lost to the Church of England, to help regretting that the Society should have chosen a course the most likely to loosen the feeling of reverent esteem for that great symbol of the faith in the minds of the coming generation, and thus to prepare the way for its future rejection ? Surely

by the traditions of its history, by its very *raison d'être*, the venerable Society is bound to uphold the Creeds of the Church, not to undermine them. The position is one entirely of its own seeking. Dr. Lumby's views in reference to the Quicunque were no secret, having been published so long ago as the year 1873, in his "History of the Creeds," of which a second edition appeared in 1880, containing no important alterations. When, therefore, the Tract Committee, or the majority of its members, asked him to write a paper on the Athanasian Creed for the Society's Commentary on the Prayer-book, they must have done it with their eyes open. Not a shadow of blame rests with him. He only did what he was asked to do, by enunciating his previously expressed views in a paper which is simply the treatise in his "History of the Creeds" condensed and abbreviated. The conclusions are substantially the same in the one as in the other.

With the view of counteracting, as far as lies in me, the mischievous effects of this action of the venerable Society, I propose to show the falsity of the theory which it has taken under its patronage, and thus to substantiate the contention of my friends and myself in our memorial, that there is abundant evidence of the existence of the Quicunque before the ninth century. I shall try to do this as concisely and plainly as possible, without attempting to assign, as I have done in two volumes published a few years since, the certain or probable

date of its composition. I have no evidence to produce which I have not previously produced or referred to, but it shall be put in a more compendious and accessible shape. In travelling over old ground it will be necessary for me to repeat much that I have said before, sometimes even verbally. Much could I wish that the task had fallen to some one more fitted by position and ability to command attention. My only claim to be heard is that I shall speak that which I do know. Ever since Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson broached their theories, the early history of the Creed of St. Athanasius has been a subject of my study, though not in the same degree during the last four years as before, and I have sought for information from the best and most reliable sources. My knowledge of most of the manuscripts which I shall have occasion to refer to, in fact, of all in the British Museum and the Troyes and Milan Libraries, and of all with one exception in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, is the fruit of my own personal research and inspection.

Before adducing any positive testimonies in support of our position, it may be advisable to reply to a negative argument employed by Dr. Lumby, as by Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson, for the purpose of proving that the Athanasian Creed was unknown at the end of the eighth century to persons who, had it been then in existence, would in all probability have been acquainted with it, and

consequently that it was not then in existence. He asserts, and with truth, that Charlemagne and the bishops assembled at the Council of Frankfort, held A.D. 794, did not make use of the Quicunque for expressing their faith, but drew up new professions of faith, or "libelli," with that view; also that the Council of Friuli, held A.D. 791 or 796, and presided over by Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, and one of the leading theologians of the day, adopted the same method. Hence he concludes that the Quicunque must have been unknown to these persons. But does this conclusion follow? Why did Charlemagne and the bishops assembled at Frankfort and Friuli draw up new professions of faith instead of making use of the Quicunque? For the very obvious reason that the latter does not contain any language peculiarly and critically condemnatory of the heresy of Adoptionism, and would, therefore, have been irrelevant to their purpose. This heresy "maintained that though our blessed Lord was the true and proper Son of God (*verus, proprius Filius*) in His divine nature, yet the Man Christ Jesus was the Son of God only by adoption (*adoptivus, nuncupativus Filius*)" (Professor Heurtley, on the Athanasian Creed, p. 4). "Confitemur et credimus," said the leading Adoptionist bishop, Elipandus, "Dei Filium ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum, coæternum et consubstantiallem *non adoptione, sed genere*. . . . Confitemur et credimus Eum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege,

non genere esse Filium Dei sed adoptione, non natura sed gratia." Adoptionism was the subject of animated controversy at the close of the eighth century and the commencement of the ninth; it was discussed and condemned at the Councils of Frankfort and Friuli, and the confessions of faith above mentioned, which were drawn up at those Councils, were composed with the special object of repudiating it. In every one of them there is language introduced in the course of the exposition of the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation evidently with this end. Thus the formula, drawn up at Friuli under Paulinus, and enjoined to be learnt by heart by the clergy, has the following:—"Non alter hominis filius et alter Dei, sed unus idemque Dei hominisque filius in utraque natura, divina scilicet et humana, Deus verus et homo verus. *Non putativus Dei filius sed verus, non adoptivus sed proprius.*" And again, "In utraque natura *proprium eum et non adoptivum Dei Filium confitemur.*" We should search in vain in the Athanasian Creed for language like this.

Dr. Lumby employs a similar argument in reference to the Council of Arles, held A.D. 813. This Council adopted a profession of faith which was not the Quicunque; therefore the Quicunque must have been unknown to its members, and hence we may gather that it was not in existence at the time, at least in its entirety. These negative arguments are most fallacious and inconclusive. The Church

Congress, I believe, is in the habit of reciting the Apostles' Creed at the commencement of its proceedings; but it does not follow that its members are ignorant of the Athanasian Creed. At the great meeting for protesting against the Gorham judgment, I recollect proceedings were inaugurated by a recital of the Nicene Creed. Would any one infer from this that the Athanasian Creed could never have been heard of by the persons present at that meeting? If it is answered that the cases are not parallel, as it is a well-known fact that English Churchmen nowadays are familiar with the Quicunque, I rejoin that by-and-by I shall produce positive evidence that Charlemagne and his divines were also familiar with it, knew and used it as we do. Negative arguments of this kind are overthrown by a single grain of positive evidence. The profession of faith adopted by this Council of Arles, it may be mentioned by the way, is none other than that of the fourth Council of Toledo, held A.D. 633, and is remarkable for the similarity, indeed identity, of some of its language with the Quicunque.

Having disposed, as I trust, of these negative arguments, I now proceed to allege the positive evidence which proves the existence of the Athanasian Creed in its entirety, such as we now have it, at a date prior to the ninth century. I shall mention the various testimonies with which I am acquainted, severally, beginning with the latest that

is to the purpose, and then ascending in the order of time, thus accumulating evidence as I proceed. And obviously it is necessary, in the first place, to produce testimonies from manuscripts, Canons, quotations, of its use in the Church and of its being regarded as the work of St. Athanasius in the early part of the ninth century ; because these facts alone would be sufficient, and indeed abundant, evidence of its earlier composition, even though we were to advance no higher. And every testimony which we shall bring dating earlier than A.D. 800, whether from documents now existing, or from others of whose former existence we are credibly informed, though they are now lost or perished, will be another and yet stronger link added to the chain of evidence.

1. I begin with the Prayer-book or Psalter of Charles the Bald, a manuscript now belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. I do so because both Dr. Lumby and Dr. Swainson admit that the Athanasian Creed appears in this codex in its entirety as we have it now, though the former seems to make the admission with some reluctance, as he lays down in his fifth point that, even at the date of this Psalter, which he puts at A.D. 870, the text of the Creed was not precisely settled. Judging, however, from the collations which he himself furnishes in his "History of the Creeds" (pp. 256-259), the various readings are very few indeed and very insignificant. Dr. Lumby has been betrayed into a slight inaccuracy in

regard to the date of this manuscript. He assigns it to A.D. 870, but it must have been written rather earlier, for in the Litany, which immediately follows the Quicunque, there is a first petition on the part of Charles for his wife Hirmindrudis, to whom he was married on the 14th of December, A.D. 842, and who died on the 5th of October, 869: "Ut Hirindrudim conjugem nostram conservare digneris;" and then follows a similar petition for his children, the eldest of whom, Louis le Begue, was born in A.D. 846. Thus the date is fixed somewhere between the birth of the second child and the year 869, and may with probability be said to be about A.D. 860. The Quicunque is entitled "*Fides Sancti Athanasii*" in this Psalter, and occurs in the place where it is usually found in Psalters—at the end, after the Canticles.

2. Contemporaneously with this—A.D. 857—Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, the leading ecclesiastic of his day, several times quotes from the Quicunque in his work, "*De Una et non Trina Deitate*," and he quotes it as the work of Athanasius. Dr. Lumby lays particular stress, as does also Dr. Swainson, upon the fact of these quotations being drawn from the first part of the Creed only—that relating to the Trinity, evidently considering this to be a confirmation of their view that the Creed for a long time existed in a fragmentary condition, as two separate compositions. It has escaped their notice that, in another work of his, the "*Explanatio in Ferculum Salomonis*," Hincmar quotes also from

the latter part of the Creed, viz. the thirty-seventh and two following verses. He does not, indeed, quote them as the words of Athanasius, but he quotes them in the manner adopted in his other treatise, supplementing the words with words of his own to suit his purpose.

3. And not only did Hincmar show his familiar acquaintance with the Athanasian Creed and the estimation in which he held it, by thus quoting it in his controversy with Gothescalcus, as expressing the belief of the Catholic Church, but the use of it was synodically enjoined under his authority upon his clergy. At a Synod held at Rheims, over which he presided, several capitula were enacted, the first of which requires every presbyter to learn the exposition of the Symbol or Creed and of the Lord's Prayer—meaning, no doubt, a commentary upon them; then to understand the preface of the Canon and the Canon itself (apparently of the Mass), and to be able to say it from memory and distinctly, as well as the prayers of the offices; also to be able to read well the Gospels and Epistles, and to recite by heart and with clear enunciation the words of the Psalms, with the usual Canticles; and it concludes: "Also let each one," *i.e.* every presbyter, "commit to memory the treatise of Athanasius concerning the faith, commencing '*Whosoever will be saved*,' and understand its meaning and be able to explain it in common words," which Waterland supposes to mean, and no doubt rightly, the vulgar tongue, as we say

("Necnon et sermonem Athanasii de fide, cujus initium est: 'Quicumque vult salvus esse,' memoriæ quisque commendet, et sensum illius intelligat, et verbis communibus enuntiare queat:" Capitula Presbyteris data, Migne, "Patrologia," tom. cxxv. p. 773). There can be no doubt what is meant by "the treatise of Athanasius concerning the faith" here, inasmuch as the initial words are given, and no one but a person whose mind is possessed by a theory would dispute its being the same as the Quicumque, whole and entire, which appears in the contemporary Psalter of Charles the Bald, in whose dominions the diocese of Rheims was situated. And the reason why it was ordered to be learnt by heart, as well as the Psalter and Canticles, was plainly that it was recited together with them in the offices of the Church.

4. About the same time, or rather earlier, we have evidence of the canonical use of the Quicumque in a different locality in a series of fifteen capitula, or Church injunctions, which I found in a British Museum manuscript—Addit. 19,725—a manuscript which came from Germany, and is considered by Mr. Thompson to have been written in the early part of the tenth century. The second of these capitula has for its title, "Qualiter fides catholica et credatur et observetur;" and it concludes thus: "Secundum fidem, quia exposita est in Nicea sinodo a tricentis decem et hocto episcopis continens hanc (*sic*) modum: *credimus in unum Deum Patrem omni-*

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potentem, omnium visibilium et invisibilium factorem et reliqua; fidem enim" (probably an error for "etiam") "Sancti Athanasii episcopi in hoc opere censuimus observandam et symbolum apostolorum com" (clearly for "cum") "tradicionibus et expositiionibus sanctorum patrum in his sermonibus adnotatis." The direction that the Athanasian Creed should be "observed" no doubt implied that it should be learnt by heart and recited by the clergy, as we see to have been enjoined by the Rheims capitulum. And this was imposed under canonical penalty, as appears by the title of the capitula: "Incipit expositio de XV. capitulis de canon" (clearly for "canone," or "canonibus," the mark of abbreviation being omitted), "de quos (*sic*) sacerdos rationes reddere debet in sinodo;" and also from the last of the series. The date of these capitula, and the locality where they were put together, are determined within certain limits by the thirteenth of their number, which directs prayers to be offered for the Emperor Lothair and his sons. As Lothair became sole emperor upon the death of his father in A.D. 840, and died in 855, they must have been drawn up some time between these years, unless they were drawn up in 833 and the following year, when he reigned for a short time as sole emperor during the deposition and imprisonment of his father. And in all probability they were enacted for some province or diocese between the Meuse and the Rhine, as, by the Treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843,

his dominions were limited to Italy and the long strip of country bounded by the Meuse, the Saone, and the Rhone on the west, and the Rhine on the east. Thus as we learnt from the capitulum of Hincmar that the Athanasian Creed was used under canonical direction within the kingdom of Charles the Bald, in the middle of the ninth century, so we learn from this capitulum that it was similarly used at the same time or rather earlier in the realm of his elder brother Lothair. In this respect it is interesting, but it possesses a further interest, for it is evidently drawn from a larger work—apparently a collection of discourses by some person in authority—to which it expressly refers. Hence it must have existed previously to its insertion in this series of capitula, and is evidence of the yet earlier, we cannot say how early, use of the *Quicumque*. It is remarkable that, together with the first capitulum respecting Canons, which also bears internal evidence of greater antiquity, it appears in all printed editions of the works of Jesse of Amiens at the end of his work on Baptism—indeed, as part of it—though it is plain that they could not have belonged to it originally. I believe I was the first to draw attention to this evidence of the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed within the empire of Lothair and during his reign (“Early History of the Athanasian Creed,” pp. 144–149).

5. We have additional evidence, and evidence, if anything, of a still more impressive kind, of the

use and reception of the Athanasian Creed during the time of this emperor, in a sumptuous Psalter, written in his honour, which may be said to be a sister volume to the Psalter of Charles the Bald, both being written in letters of gold and both containing portraits of the sovereigns in whose honour they were respectively written, as well as pictures of David and St. Jerome. The Quicunque appears therein with the title of "*Fides catholica tradita a Sancto Athanasio Alexandrino episcopo*," and occupies a peculiar position, coming after the *Te Deum* and *before* the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and Magnificat. It is the only instance that I have met with, to the best of my recollection, where it precedes the Lord's Prayer and Creed and Magnificat, and does not follow them. This Psalter belonged originally to the Abbey of St. Hubert, in the Forest of Ardennes, where it was seen by the Benedictines Martene and Durand, in the early part of the last century ; and they have given an account of it in their "*Voyage Litteraire*." It remained there till the time of the French Revolution, and has recently been attracted to the English book-market by the enterprise of Messrs. Ellis and White ; and several fac-similes of the portraits and the handwriting have been issued by the Palæographical Society. It is now private property. In a chronicle of the twelfth century it is said to have been given to the Abbey of St. Hubert by Louis le Debonnaire, the father of Lothair, on occasion of the translation

of the patron saint's remains, A.D. 825. But this is improbable, as the book was plainly written in honour of Lothair, and some encomiastic verses at the commencement, by their allusions, point to the most remarkable epoch in the life of the latter as the probable date of its execution, viz. part of the years 833 and 834, when he reigned as sole emperor in the place of his father, whom, with the aid of his brothers and a strong party of bishops and nobles, he had defeated, dethroned, and imprisoned. At that time, too, he received an embassy from the Greek emperor, and ruled over a larger extent of country than at any other period of his life, his empire reaching to the western sea-coast. These events are evidently alluded to in the verses. Waterland was not acquainted with this manuscript, and in regard to this item of evidence, as well as the last, I believe I am right in saying that I was the first to draw attention to it. Fuller information respecting this interesting manuscript may be found in my volumes, "*The Athanasian Creed: an Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin*," pp. 147-151; and "*Early History of the Athanasian Creed*," pp. 167-170.

6. The famous Utrecht Psalter may fairly be adduced as another evidence of the use of the Athanasian Creed, which I need not say it contains, at this period. A remarkable diversity of opinion appeared about ten years ago among English palæographers with respect to the date of this manuscript,

some, as Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, confidently assigning it to the sixth or seventh century; others, as Mr. Bond and Mr. Thompson of the British Museum, and Mr. Coxe of the Bodleian Library, maintaining that it could not be earlier than the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth; but I am not aware that any palæographer has set it later than the middle of the latter century. The title by which it describes the Quicunque is notable, "Fides catholicam." It is needless to say anything more respecting this now well-known manuscript.

7. It would be unreasonable to assume that these were the only Psalters of the period to which they belong, containing the Athanasian Creed, or even that there were but few originally which resembled them in this respect. On the contrary, considering the great destruction and loss of manuscripts which has taken place since the ninth century, it would seem *a priori* probable that they may be taken as types in regard to their contents of many, if not most, of the contemporaneous Psalters, which are now perished. And there is actual confirmation of the correctness of this view in a letter from Florus, the Deacon of Lyons, to Hyldrad, the abbot, first edited by Cardinal Mai, in 1828, from a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Mai, "*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*," tom. iii. pars ii. pp. 251-255: Rome, 1828), which shows that the Athanasian Creed was generally admitted at this period into Psalters, and had been so some time previously.

The writer of this letter, several of whose works are extant, flourished from about A.D. 830 to the middle of the century, and was esteemed one of the most learned men of his day. It appears that Hyldrad had sent him a Psalter, with the request that he would correct it. In reply, Florus dwells upon the difficulty of the task, owing to the great and increasing numbers of faulty copies, but he had done his best to correct the text by collating Jerome's translation, the Septuagint, and the Hebrew. He adds that he was aware of Hyldrad's desire to produce a new Psalter, and, after giving some advice in regard to the artistic execution of the book, proceeds as follows, in regard to the contents:—
“*Psalmis vero sola cantica copulentur. Hymnis (sic), symbolum, oratio, dominica, Fides.* [this full stop must be an error of the press] *compunctum, orationes, et, si quæ sunt alia, libello altero conscribantur. Quanquam a nobis ex his omnibus solum symbolum, oratio evangelica, fides catholica, atque hymni correcti sunt; reliqua vel superstitiosa vel falsa vel parum necessaria judicantibus; unde, et si vultis, poteritis Psalmis cl., canticis prophetis, evangelicis duobus ea, quæ supra nos correxisse diximus, eo quo a nobis commemorata sunt, ordine copulare. Alia abicite, ac velut quasdam vestri sondes psalterii fullonis vecte decutite; ut libelli illius corpus, omni labe detersa, purum et nitidum resplendeat.*” The spelling and punctuation are given here as they are in Mai. That by “*Fides*”

and "*Fides catholica*" in this passage the Athanasian Creed is especially, though it may be not exclusively, intended, it is impossible to help feeling, inasmuch as each of them is distinguished from "*symbolum*," or the Apostles' Creed, and the *Quicumque* is sometimes termed "*Fides Catholica*," as we have seen in the Utrecht Psalter, though more commonly "*Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii*" or "*Fides Sancti Athanasii*," and is generally found in Psalters, while the Nicene, or the Constantinopolitan, Creed appears in them, comparatively speaking, rarely.

It appears from this letter of Florus that in his time some superstitious and spurious and unnecessary matter had found its way into Psalters. In his anxiety apparently to exclude anything even of a questionable nature, he recommends Hyldrad to subjoin nothing to the Psalms but the usual Scriptural Canticles—"Cantica"—and to relegate all the other matter usually annexed to Psalters to a separate volume. But he suggests an alternative plan, which he seems to prefer. He would distinguish the sound metal from the dross. He had, therefore, selected the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Athanasian Creed, and the Hymns (doubtless the "*Te Deum*" and the "*Gloria in Excelsis*"), and corrected their texts. These Hyldrad might, if he thought fit, subjoin to the Psalms and the Canticles from Scripture. All the rest he urges Hyldrad absolutely to reject.

That the Athanasian Creed, with the Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Hymns, were found in Psalters generally in Florus's time is evident—first, from his primary recommendation that they should be included in a separate volume together with the objectionable and unnecessary matter. Such a recommendation to separate them in this particular case from the Psalter implies that generally they were annexed to it, and would have been needless unless this had been the case. This is evident also from his alternative advice, viz. *to reject and shake off* all besides. What was thus rejected from the Psalter must have been previously attached to it, and what was not thus rejected must have been simply retained in its usual position. Throughout Florus's advice proceeds upon the assumption that there was nothing novel or unusual in the admission of the Quicunque to a Psalter. It is placed in the same category with the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, as neither superstitious, nor spurious, nor unnecessary.

This testimony to the use of the Quicunque was also unknown to Waterland.

8. After the death of Felix of Orgel, in Spain, which took place A.D. 818, a document was found among his papers reaffirming all the errors of Adoptionism; and, with the view of confuting them, Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, composed a treatise consisting mainly of citations from the Fathers. The third section asserts the necessity of a belief

in the Catholic faith in the very language of the Creed: "But he who does not condescend to read what proceeds from ourselves, may rest satisfied with the judgments of the holy Fathers here annexed, because the blessed Athanasius says, 'Except a man keep the Catholic faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.'" No one can doubt that it is the second verse of the Quicunque that is here quoted by Agobard, and he quotes the words as those of Athanasius ("Beatus Athanasius ait, Fidem Catholicam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit:" Agobardus, adv. Felicem, 3, Migne, "Patrologia," tom. civ.).

9. About this time Heito, or Hatto, or Hetto, or Ahyto (the name appears in these various forms), Bishop of Basle, issued a capitulare for his diocese, the fourth capitulum being, "That the Faith of the holy Athanasius be learnt by priests, and be recited by heart every Lord's day at prime" ("Quarto ut fides Sancti Athanasii a sacerdotibus discatur et ex corde omni die Dominico ad horam primam recitetur:" Migne, "Patrologia," tom. cxv. p. 763; and Harduin, vol. iv. p. 1241).

10. It was probably after the Council of Aix, held in November, 809, at which the doctrine of the Procession was discussed, that Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, composed his treatise on the subject by direction of Charlemagne, to whom also it is dedicated. This treatise consists of quotations from

the Fathers in support of the Latin doctrine, and among the quotations from Athanasius are several verses of the Quicumque, from the twenty-first, "The Father is made of none," etc., to the twenty-eighth, "He therefore that will be saved," etc., inclusive.

11. By the side of this may be placed another testimony from Theodulph, though possibly it might be assigned to a little earlier date, as he appears to have been advanced to the episcopate before the Council of Frankfort, in A.D. 794. In a "*Capitulare ad presbyteros parochiæ suæ*," he addresses them as follows:—"We admonish you, O priests of the Lord, that you both commit to memory and thoroughly understand the Catholic Faith; that is, 'I believe,' and, 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith.'" This was first printed by Baluze from a manuscript in the Colbertine Library, of which he was the custodian (see Baluzii "*Miscellanea*," tom. ii. p. 99; also Migne, "*Patrologia*," tom. cv. p. 209).

12. In the year 809, the Latin monks of Mount Olivet, at Jerusalem, wrote to the pope respecting a dispute which had arisen between themselves and some Greek monks headed by John of the Monastery of St. Sabas. The letter alludes particularly to the introduction of the "*Filioque*" into the Creed, which appears to have been hotly debated between the contending parties, and adduces several authorities in support of the doctrine of the double Procession, among them being the Athanasian Creed, which it entitles, "*Fides Sancti Athanasii*."

13. That the "Fides S. Athanasii" thus referred to is none other than our Athanasian Creed is made clear by a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, assigned by Professor Maassen ("Bibliotheca Latina Juris Canonici," "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie," liv. 241, etc.) to the commencement of the ninth century. It is numbered 3848 B among the Latin manuscripts, and contains *inter alia* the Herovall Collection of Canons, one of the collections in which the Autun Canon respecting the Quicunque has been preserved. The Athanasian Creed is introduced in a series of Testimonies to the Faith, which precedes that collection. The first of these is described as "Exemplum testimoniorum Sancti Hilarii, episcopi et confessoris de fide, in libro secundo inter cætera." Then follow passages from St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, Theophilus, St. Cyril of Alexandria, three quotations from St. Isidore, headed by the rubrics: "De fide Trinitatis Isidori episcopi," "Item dicta Sancti Isidori episcopi de eadem Trinitate," and "Item Isidori in libro differentiarum." Then on fol. 68 follows the Quicunque, entitled, "Fides Sancti Athanasii episcopi." The text presents no remarkable variations from the ordinary text. Then comes another profession of faith headed, "Incipit Fides Sancti Gregorii papae urbis." It will be observed that Isidore of Seville is the latest authority cited in this series of Testimonies to the Faith.

14. As a concurrent testimony with the last may

be adduced another manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, No. 1451, also containing a collection of Canons and documents relating to dogma, and assigned by Professor Maassen to the ninth century ("Bibliotheca Latina," etc., in "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie," liv. p. 173). By a memorandum written on the first folio in a hand of the fifteenth century it appears to have belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Peter Fossatensis, also called St. Maur Fossatensis, or des Fosses, which was situated on the river Marne, about two leagues from Paris. Some internal evidence of date occurs at the commencement. It begins with a genealogical tree. Then comes a notice of the first six General Councils. Then on fol. 6 verso a list of popes is commenced, with the rubric, "*Hic sunt Pontifices sancte Romanæ Ecclesiæ Beati Petri apostoli*," and the length of each pontificate is specified in years, months, and days. The last appears on fol. 7 recto, as follows:—"xcvii. Adrianus, sedit annos xxiii., menses x., dies xvii." This was Adrian I., who died on Christmas Day, A.D. 795. We might infer from this that the manuscript was written during the pontificate of Adrian's successor, Leo III., who died in A.D. 816. That it was so a further indication appears in the fact that between the above line, recording Adrian's pontificate, and the next, there has been inserted in a different hand: "xcviii. Leo papa." That this is an after-insertion is evident from the manner it has been

thrust in between the lines ; and the insertion must have been made before the death of Leo, otherwise the duration of his pontificate would have been specified, as in the cases of Adrian and the other popes. Thus we are led to believe that the manuscript was written before the year 816. The list of the popes is followed by a series of chronological computations, which must have been drawn up before the coronation of Charles the Great as emperor in the year 800, inasmuch as they describe him as king. They appeared, therefore, to me, when I first read them, to determine the date of the manuscript to the end of the eighth century. But this conclusion scarcely seems to me on reflection to be necessary, as the computations might possibly have been copied from one codex to another ; and I refrain from adhering to it in face of Professor Maassen's judgment that the manuscript is not earlier than the ninth century. Accordingly, I am disposed to place the date at the commencement of the latter century, before the year 816. These computations are immediately followed by the Athanasian Creed, which is introduced by the title, "Incipit exemplar fidei c̄ht Sc̄i Athanasii ep̄i Alexandrine ecclesie." The abbreviation "c̄ht" is for *chatholicæ* or *chatholice*, the word being so spelt in the text. The text gives a peculiar arrangement of verses 8, 9, 10, of which, I believe, there is no other example, viz. "Æternus pater, æternus filius, æternus et spiritus sanctus ; Increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus et spiritus

sanctus ; Imensus pater, inensus filius, inensus et spiritus sanctus." But this is the only variation of importance from the usual text. These two manuscripts were noticed by Dr. Swainson in his book upon the Creeds, and he candidly admitted the difficulty which they obviously oppose to his hypothesis ; nor could he see any way out of his difficulty—only he trusted that in time the labours of the Palæographical Society would provide him with a solution, But nine years have passed, and no solution of the difficulty seems to have come from that quarter.

15. Among the works of Alcuin is a "Libellus de Processione Spiritus Sancti ad Carolum Magnum," which consists chiefly, like the treatise of Theodulph, of quotations from the Fathers. He twice quotes the Athanasian Creed, on both occasions describing it as the work of Athanasius : "The blessed Athanasius, the most reverend Bishop of the city of Alexandria . . . in the 'Exposition of the Catholic Faith' which that eminent doctor himself composed, and which the universal Church confesses, declares the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, thus saying, 'The Father is made of none,' " etc. The twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third verses are then quoted. This passage is especially deserving of attention, as indicating the extensive use and reception of the Quicunque at the very commencement of the ninth century. It is described as the "Exposition of the Catholic Faith . . . which the universal Church (*universalis ecclesia*)

confesses." The other quotation is not noticed by Waterland: "'For such as the Father is,' as the blessed Athanasius, Bishop of the city of Alexandria, testifies, 'such also is the Son, such also is the Holy Spirit; for in this Trinity none is before,'" etc. The quotation is continued to the end of the twenty-eighth verse, "Let him thus think of the Trinity" (Migne, tom. ci. pp. 73, 82).

The editor of Alcuin, Frobenius, places this treatise among his genuine works, because it is attributed to him by a manuscript of the ninth century—written, therefore, shortly after his time. And if his work, it must have been composed between the year 800, when Charlemagne became emperor, for it is dedicated to him as invested with the imperial dignity — "Serenissimo Augusto Carolo"—and the year 804, when Alcuin died. And it may well have been written at that date, as the Procession had been a prominent subject of debate at the close of the eighth century. Its genuineness has been questioned, because it is not mentioned in any list of Alcuin's works, but this seems to be the only real ground for doubt upon the point. Still, even if it is not genuine, the dedication to Charlemagne shows that it must have been written before the year 814, when he died. Hence, whether it was composed by Alcuin or not, it clearly proves that, at the commencement of the ninth century, the *Quicunque* was held to be the work of Athanasius, and was extensively used and received.

I have thought it necessary for my argument, even at the risk of being tedious, thus to specify, one by one, these various testimonies during the first half of the ninth century, because they alone furnish clear and abundant evidence of the existence of the Athanasian Creed, not only during that century, but prior to it—I might add, considerably prior to it, but that is beyond my present purpose. This conclusion unavoidably follows from two facts clearly shown by them—first, that during the period to which they apply the Quicumque was believed to be the work of St. Athanasius; and secondly, that during the same period it was used in the offices of the Church. For we find that, in the first half of the ninth century, it was commonly entitled, “The Faith of St. Athanasius,” or “The Catholic Faith of St. Athanasius;” that Agobard and Theodulph, and the compiler of the Paris manuscript, 3848 B, quoted and appealed to it as the undoubted work of that Father, the two latter too placing it amidst a crowd of quotations from other ancient Fathers; and lastly, we find that another writer, probably Alcuin, at the very commencement of this period, not only thus quotes it, but expressly asserts it to have been composed by that Father. And with these plain proofs in our hands that the divines of the first half of the ninth century, up to its very commencement, believed the Athanasian Creed to be the work of a man who had been then dead more than four hundred years, I ask, in the name of common sense

and reason, is it possible for us to suppose that it was not composed before that period—that during that period it was first framed together into one whole from “two separate compositions,” which for some time previously had been floating about the world in a happy independence? This is the hypothesis which the Christian Knowledge Society propounds to the teachers and students of the rising generation in its Commentary on the Prayer-book! I am not arguing, let it be observed, that the belief of the ninth century—that the Quicunque was the work of St. Athanasius—proves it to have been indeed his work, but simply that it proves its existence prior to that century. This is the sole point about which I am concerned at present—not how old it was nor who was its author.

Secondly, the Athanasian Creed was used and recited in the offices of the Church during the first half of the ninth century. This appears from its being made at that time the subject of episcopal, authoritative capitula, or injunctions, of which I have produced three instances; and from its being then found in Psalters, as is shown to have been the case by the letter of Florus and by the Lothair Psalter, to say nothing of the Utrecht. For why were the clergy required to learn the Quicunque, but that they might be able to recite it in the service, as well as expound it to the people, as appears from the capitulum of Ahyto, or Hatto? And what were these Psalters? and what is the meaning of the

Athanasian Creed having a place in them? They were Church Service-books, the Psalter being the great manual and substance of the Church's ordinary worship in early times: and immediately after the Psalms followed six Canticles from the Old Testament, which were sung on the several week-days in succession, and to these were subjoined the Benedicite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Lord's Prayer, Gloria in Excelsis, Apostles' Creed, Athanasian Creed, because they too were used in the services. And I think I am right in saying that the Quicunque is found more commonly in Psalters than either the Lord's Prayer, or Apostles' Creed, or the Gloria in Excelsis. And if the Quicunque was used in the offices of the Church in the early half of the ninth century, again I must ask, as a matter of plain common sense and reason, how could it possibly have been the work of that period? Its use in the services of the Church establishes for it a pre-existence of some duration. It would not have been so used together with the scriptural Canticles immediately on its starting into existence. A certain space of time must have intervened to allow of its being disseminated and becoming known, and acquiring the prestige and veneration attaching to the antique.

One other remark is necessary in regard to these testimonies which I have alleged from the first half of the ninth century. They afford no evidence whatever that the Athanasian Creed was during

that period in a fragmentary or germinal condition, or in a process of growth. They prove the contrary. Such as the Creed is in the Psalter of Charles the Bald, such it is in the Psalter of Lothair and the Utrecht Psalter, and such it is in the two Paris manuscripts mentioned by me—with some variations of reading of no essential significance—the same document that we have in our Prayer-books and recite in our churches. This it is that the capitulars of Lothair, of Hatto, and of Theodulph require to be used, and this it is that is quoted by Agobard, by Theodulph, by the monks of Mount Olivet, and by Alcuin or the writer of the treatise attributed to him.

In Dr. Lumby's paper in the S.P.C.K. Commentary, most of the testimonies thus far cited by me are simply unnoticed. The quotations from the Creed by Alcuin, Theodulph, Agobard, the four capitula, the two Paris manuscripts, the Psalter of Lothair, are passed by in total silence.

I might stop here, in confidence that my case is already proved, without adducing in its support any evidence from documents now existing or which are known to have existed, of an earlier date than A.D. 800. Let us now proceed to these more ancient testimonies. Every item of evidence which they furnish will confirm the conclusion drawn from the testimonies belonging to the first half of the ninth century, while at the same time supplying additional and independent proof; and it will be

evidence necessarily of a more direct and convincing nature.

16. The first testimony which meets us at the end of the eighth century is the profession of obedience, made by Denebert after his election to the bishopric of Worcester, in the year 798. He expresses his faith on the subject of the Holy Trinity in language evidently drawn from the Athanasian Creed, though he does not quote it as that of Athanasius. "*Insuper et orthodoxam,*" he says, "*Catholicam apostolicamque fidem, sicut didici, paucis exponam verbis, quia scriptum est 'Quicumque vult.'*" Then, after the first verse, we have word for word the third to the sixth, the twenty-first to the twenty-third, and the twenty-fifth to the twenty-seventh verses inclusive, ending with "*veneranda sit.*" Then he adds that he receives also the decrees of the pontiffs and the six Catholic Councils, and concludes by declaring this to be his faith. This is very interesting, because it proves the reception of the Creed in our own country at the end of the eighth century, and confirms the testimony of Alcuin, or the writer of the treatise on the Procession attributed to him, as to its general use by the Church at this time. Denebert, it will be observed, refers to it as a well-known and familiar and authoritative document, introducing the quotation by the words, "*scriptum est.*"

And when Denebert employs so largely and accurately the language of the Creed, the natural

inference is that it was in existence as a whole in his time, unless the contrary is proved to have been the case. But Dr. Lumby, following in the steps of his brother professor, Dr. Swainson, takes a different view of the portion of the Creed adopted into this profession. He considers it an "independent composition." It is, in the opinion of these eminent divines, the whole of the Quicunque which was known to Denebert, the type of that part of it which relates to the Trinity as it existed at the end of the eighth century, the embryo from which that part was afterwards developed. But surely persons are not in the habit of quoting more of a book or a document than is necessary for their immediate purpose. And to argue that, because Denebert only made use of so much of the Athanasian Creed as seemed to him necessary for a summary of his faith on the Trinity, the rest could not have been known to him, and the Creed could not have existed in its entirety in his time,—this is in truth rushing at conclusions in a very hasty and illogical manner. And this is all the more apparent when it is noticed, that Denebert expressly states his intention to be as brief as possible in expounding his faith—"paucis exponam verbis;" that he introduces the language of the Quicunque, not as an "independent composition," but as a quotation, by the words, "scriptum est"—words by which quotations are introduced in a Book not unknown to most of us (Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10); and that, lastly,

as he concludes by expressing his adhesion to the six Councils, no further statement of his faith in the Incarnation could be necessary. Then Dr. Lumby, again following his brother professor, appeals, in support of his hypothesis respecting Denebert's profession, to another document, which he also considers to be "an independent composition"—"a complete document." It contains some verses of the Quicunque, and is headed by the title, "De fide catholica" (see S.P.C.K. "Commentary on the Prayer-book," p. 80; and Dr. Lumby's "History of the Creeds," p. 227). As nothing is said of the date of this "complete document" in the paper of the S.P.C.K. Commentary, the students and teachers, for whose use that paper is designed, might suppose it to be contemporaneous or nearly so with the other "complete document" with which it is compared, viz. Denebert's profession. But the fact is that nothing is known of its date. All that the two professors can tell us on that point is that the document is found in a Vienna manuscript of the twelfth century; so that a document of unknown date is adduced from a manuscript of the twelfth century to determine the form and condition and contents of the Athanasian Creed at the end of the eighth century! And after all, this document is not identical with Denebert's profession, the former containing seven verses of the Creed, the latter ten. There are but six verses common to the two. Moreover, the Vienna document contains one verse which is neither in

Denebert's profession nor in the Creed, and it has the second verse of the Creed, which is not quoted by Denebert. This is a specimen of the very precarious and unsound mode of reasoning from negatives which Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby have employed in constructing their theory. I speak of their theory, as they are both agreed in the main, and differ only as to the period which they assign to the completion of the Creed's formation—one putting this later in the ninth century than the other. The mere fact of the theory being based upon such a foundation of sand would be enough to condemn it, even if there were no positive and direct proofs of its untruth, which, however, there are in abundance.

17. One such proof, and a very convincing one, is furnished by a very interesting Psalter, which formerly belonged to the celebrated Abbey of St. Germain des Près, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—Latin, 13,159. The Athanasian Creed occurs in the usual place, and is immediately followed by four Litanies, in which petitions are offered for Pope Leo and for *King* Charles and for the *royal* offspring, thus: "Ut domnum apostolicum Leonem . . . conservare digneris; Te rogamus, audi nos. Ut ei vitam et sanitatem dones; Te rogamus," etc.; and "Ut domnum Carolum regem conservare digneris; Te rogamus, etc. Ut ei vitam et sanitatem atque victoriam dones; Te rogamus." That the King Charles thus prayed

for is Charles the Great is shown clearly by the first Litany, in which he is described as “*Rex Francorum et Longobardorum ac patricius Romanorum*”—a title which could belong to no other Charles. These petitions praying for Leo as pope and for Charles simply as king, not as Augustus, or emperor, fix the date of the Psalter somewhere between Christmas, A.D. 795, very shortly after which Leo III. became pope, and Christmas, A.D. 800, when Charles was crowned emperor at Rome. It is thus, we may say, a dated manuscript, contemporaneous with Denebert’s profession. I may add that the authorities of the Paris Library consider it to be of the date thus indicated by internal evidence. Having collated the text on two different occasions, in order to secure greater accuracy, I may say with confidence that it contains no important variations from the ordinary text. The Creed is here whole and entire. Only the commencement, down to “*nec tres Immensi*,” is written in a different hand. All that follows, as well as the Litanies, are in the same hand as the rest of the volume. This manuscript is unnoticed by Waterland, his St. Germain’s manuscript being another, which I shall notice by-and-by. Dr. Swainson found it the most perplexing document he had ever met with. Dr. Lumby does not seem to be acquainted with it.

18. Another manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris—Latin, 4858—of a little earlier date, contains a fragment of the Athanasian Creed,

consisting of the first ten verses and part of the eleventh, ending with “non tres *Æterni*.” The volume at present is evidently in a mutilated condition, and has suffered from ill usage, traces of which appear on the last leaf. It includes nothing but the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, as translated and continued by St. Jerome, and the fragment before mentioned, which appears without any title on the lower part of the verso side of the last folio. The rest of the volume must have been torn away; and this is obviously the cause of the imperfect form in which the *Quicunque* is now found. No doubt the manuscript originally contained the whole of it, and probably other documents besides. This codex is described by Montfaucon, in his “*Diatribes in Symbolum Quicunque*,” as being nearly nine hundred years old, and coeval with the *Psalter* at Vienna written by order of Charlemagne, an account of which is given by Lambecius. In the judgment, therefore, of this eminent palæographer it must have been executed towards the close of the eighth century—not later, for his “*Diatribes*” was published at the end of the seventeenth. The present authorities, too, of the manuscript department at Paris are of opinion that it belongs to the end of the eighth century; and certainly the character of the handwriting seems to sustain this opinion. This manuscript is not noticed by Dr. Lumby in his paper in the *S.P.C.K. Commentary*. In his “*History of the Creeds*” (p. 225) he disposes of it

by a very short and easy method. "There are no variations in the readings," he says, in reference to it, "so that this may be placed as late as the preceding," *i.e.* as late as the pontificate of Hadrian II., from A.D. 867 to A.D. 872. His argument is plainly as follows. In this manuscript the commencing verses of the Creed are found as we now have them; but according to his hypothesis the Creed at the end of the eighth century was in an unformed, incomplete state: therefore the manuscript could not be of that date, the high authority of Montfaucon notwithstanding. I venture to think that this is simply begging the question.

19. The Vienna Psalter mentioned a little before is our next witness. It is a costly volume, written, like the Psalters of Charles the Bald and the Emperor Lothair, in letters of gold. It belongs to the Imperial Library at Vienna, a former librarian of which, Lambecius, discovered it, in 1666, in the private library of the Emperor Leopold I.; and to him we are indebted for an account of the contents ("Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Vindobonensi," liber secundus, c. v.). The Athanasian Creed appears in the usual place, after the Canticles and Hymns, with the title, "Fides S. Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini." There is documentary evidence of the history and date of this manuscript. Prefixed to it is a formal statement, as we learn from Lambecius, signed by John Henseler, Imperial Notary, affirming that it had been

originally used by Hildegardis, the wife of Charlemagne, who, after her death, presented it, A.D. 788, to the Church of Bremen, where it had been kept for eight hundred years and more, and publicly exhibited every year among the sacred relics of the church. And to certify this, Henseler has added two clauses, accurately copied, as he asserts, from very ancient records of the Church of Bremen. If this account be true, the manuscript must have been written before the year 783, when Hildegardis died. And there is not the least reason to doubt the truth of it. On the contrary, it is confirmed by high palæographical authority as to the date of the handwriting and by some internal evidence of the contents. In regard to the first of these, not only Lambecius, who, no doubt, was a person well acquainted with ancient documents, but also Denis, who was librarian at Vienna at the end of the last century and drew up the catalogue of the manuscripts in the Imperial Library, and the authors of the "*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*," and Silvestre and his coadjutors,—all these (and the two latter especially are commonly considered high authorities) assign the manuscript to the latter part of the eighth century. Silvestre gives a fac-simile of the writing "as a good specimen of the Roman or Caroline characters in general usage from the end of the eighth century," and adds that "the general appearance of the volume at once indicates it to be of the latter part of the eighth century"

("Universal Palæography," by M. J. B. Silvestre, translated by Sir F. Madden, London, 1850, vol. i. pp. 331, 332). On the first folio of the manuscript are some complimentary verses addressed by King Charles to Pope Hadrian, in which the former requests the latter to accept the gift of this Psalter; and these are immediately followed by some dedicatory verses from the writer of the manuscript, one Dagulfus, to Charles. This King Charles and Pope Hadrian had been universally identified with Charles the Great and Pope Hadrian I., until Mr. Ffoulkes suggested that the persons intended were another King Charles and another Pope Hadrian, viz. Charles the Bald and Pope Hadrian II.; and the idea has been accepted and hailed with delight by Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby, as "a happy suggestion." For such indeed it was for their theory, as well as for Mr. Ffoulkes's, neither of which could be maintained consistently with the date hitherto assigned to this manuscript. But not one of these gentlemen has been able to produce an atom of real proof to show that it is of the epoch to which they assign it. The suggestion, indeed, is an improbable one. The verses of Dagulfus are far more applicable to Charlemagne than to Charles the Bald; indeed, they cannot be taken as applying to the latter at all, unless regarded as the language of unmeaning adulation. Nothing is more probable than that Charlemagne should have presented, or intended to present, such a gift as this magnificent

Psalter to Hadrian I., with whom he maintained an unvarying friendship and alliance. Three times during his pontificate the Frank monarch visited Rome, and on one of these occasions his son Pepin, the child of Hildegardis, was baptized, the pope standing as godfather, and was also anointed King of Italy. Eginhard, too, speaks of his great munificence on several occasions to the pontiffs. On the other hand, the relations between Charles the Bald and Hadrian II. generally were far from amicable. On one occasion only during the pontificate of the latter, which lasted only five years—from A.D. 867 to 872—do we read of his receiving presents from the former. It was when, in spite of Hadrian's remonstrances, Charles had taken possession of his deceased nephew's dominions, and he sought to propitiate the offended pope by sending him, together with an epistle, "a cloth for the altar of St. Peter's, formed out of his own golden robes, with two golden crowns decked with jewels" (*Annales Bentiniani*, A.D. 870, Migne, *Patrologia*, tom. cxxv. p. 1261). The presents being thus specified, it is natural to conclude that none others were sent. The contents of this Psalter, too, are such as to point to the early part of Charlemagne's reign as its most probable date. The titles which it applies to the Te Deum, the Apostles' Creed, and the Athanasian, viz. "Hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus invicem condiderunt," "Symbolum sanctorum apostolorum," and "Fides S. Athanasii episcopi

Alexandrini," have been insisted on as evidence that it was not written before the ninth century. But such arguments, as I have already remarked, are necessarily inconclusive, and I have shown on a former occasion ("Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin," pp. 222-225) "that the Apostles' Creed was called 'Symbolum Apostolorum' as early as the fourth century by St. Ambrose; that the Athanasian was certainly attributed to St. Athanasius before the ninth century; and that the tradition respecting the Te Deum being the joint work of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, in all probability was current before that epoch."

There is an obvious difficulty in reconciling the statement found in the records of the Church of Bremen, that Charlemagne presented the Psalter to that church with what we are led to infer from the verses at the commencement, viz. that he gave it to Hadrian. But the difficulty is not insurmountable. Pagi conjectures that Hadrian, having originally received it from Charlemagne, afterwards gave it to Hildegardis when she visited Rome, A.D. 781, and so it reverted to Charlemagne on her death. But it would appear the simplest solution of the difficulty to suppose, as suggested by the authors of the "*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*," that, although intended as a present to Hadrian I., and written with that view, the Psalter, owing to some unexpected hindrance, was never actually pre-

sented to him; and hence it came to be used by Charlemagne's queen.

20. In their treatise, "*De Antiquis Collectionibus Canonum*" (pars ii. cap. x. §§ 2, 3), the Ballerini brothers describe a Gallican collection of Canons in a Vatican manuscript—Vat. Palat. 574—which they assign to the middle of the sixth century, the latest Council included in it being the fourth of Orleans, A.D. 541. The collection is immediately followed by some other documents, written in the same hand, amongst which is found the Athanasian Creed, with the title, "*Incipit fides catholica beati atanasi episcopi.*" These additions, in the judgment of the same learned canonists, were made in the eighth century, as the latest of them is dated A.D. 756. This, then, we may claim as another evidence of the existence of the Quicunque in the eighth century, and of its being attributed during that period to St. Athanasius—a point important to notice in connection with the Vienna Psalter. Were it the last in order of the documents in the above-mentioned appendix it might be objected that possibly it was added after the rest; but this is not the case, as it is followed by three documents, one of which is a work of the seventh century, and another of the middle of the eighth. The manuscript is described by Holstenius as of very great antiquity, and seems to be so regarded by the Ballerini. It is assigned by Reifferscheid to the ninth century ("*Die Römischen Bibliotheken,*" von Aug. Reiffer-

scheid, in "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften," band lvi. pp. 493-499). If of the ninth century, it must be a copy of an older manuscript, containing the collection with its appendix. It appears, by a memorandum on the last folio, to have belonged to the Abbey of St. Nazaire, at Lauresheim, the modern Lorsch in Hesse Darmstadt; but the contents seem to point to the Abbey of Lerins, in the South of France, as the locality where they were compiled.

21. In his "Diatribæ" Montfaucon mentions a copy of the Creed in a manuscript belonging to the Abbey of St. Germain, described by him as "Sangermanensis noster num. 257," which he considered to have been written in the time of Pepin. It may, therefore, be placed about A.D. 760. It was written, he says, in Saxon characters, and had for title, "Fides Sancti Athanasii episcopi Alexandriae." Waterland gives collations of the text, from which it may be seen that it does not vary materially from the ordinary text. He thinks this manuscript the same as the Codex Corbeiensis from which Mabillon, in his work, "De Re Diplomatica," gives a fac-simile of the three first verses of the Creed as a specimen of Saxon writing. It may be so, as many of the Corbie manuscripts were transferred to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près in 1638. This manuscript is probably now lost, unless it found its way to the Library of St. Petersburg, with several other volumes from that Abbey, at the end of last century. But considering the

distinct testimony of Montfaucon to its existence in the last century, and his unhesitating judgment as to its being older than the time of Charlemagne, it is another unquestionable evidence of the Creed's being extant in its entirety before the ninth century. It is another instance, too, of its being ascribed to Athanasius in the eighth century. But Dr. Lumby gets rid of this proof of the untenableness of his theory in the same short and easy way previously noticed. Totally ignoring the high palæographical authority of Montfaucon, he decides, upon the most insufficient grounds, or rather none at all, that the manuscript is not earlier than the ninth century ("History of the Creeds," pp. 220, 221). Neither this nor either of the two manuscripts noticed immediately before are so much as mentioned in his paper in the S.P.C.K. Commentary, although they are of great importance as regards the early history of the Quicunque.

22. The Trèves fragment must next be noticed. Great confusion and misunderstanding have prevailed and do still prevail with regard to this document. It is commonly represented as the Colbertine manuscript of the Athanasian Creed; but in reality it is not a copy of the Quicunque at all, nor yet of a portion of it, but of the latter part of a sermon or discourse addressed to catechumens after the *Traditio Symboli*, or their instruction in the Apostles' Creed a little before Easter, in which the preacher adapts and modifies the language of several verses of the

Quicunque for the purpose of instructing his hearers in the doctrine of the Incarnation. That it is this, and nothing else, is plain upon the face of the document itself, upon its own showing, so to speak, viz., by the introduction of the parenthesis, “*sicut vobis in symbolo traditum est,*” after the words, “*ad dexteram Dei patris sedet,*” and of “*secundum fidem nostram*” just before “*passus et mortuus.*”

Nearly the whole of the latter portion of the Quicunque relating to the Incarnation, from the words, “*Domini nostri Jhesu Christi,*” of verse 27, to verse 39 inclusive, with the exception of verse 35, which is entirely omitted, has been thus adapted by the author of the sermon; but not a single verse is reproduced without some variation, and in some verses the diversity is considerable. At the same time, while there is sufficient verbal diversity between the fragment and the Athanasian Creed to show that they cannot be regarded as one and the same document, there is a substantial resemblance which proves that one is built upon the lines of the other. That the fragment was drawn from the Creed, and not the reverse, is certain, I believe, to demonstration. I hope I am not egotistical in thinking that I have demonstrated it (“*Early History of the Athanasian Creed,*” pp. 249–265). And if the fragment, or rather the sermon of which it is a portion, drew from the Creed, the latter clearly must be the older document of the two.

Now, the manuscript in which this fragment is preserved is universally admitted to be not later than the eighth century. Montfaucon dates it before the reign of Charlemagne, which commenced in A.D. 768; the authors of the "*Nouveau Traité*," etc., are of the same opinion. According to Dr. Swainson, palæographers of the present day place it early in the century. At any rate a fac-simile of the writing (this very fragment was the portion represented) was issued among the publications of the Palæographical Society, which are, in fact, edited by the authorities of the manuscript department of the British Museum, assigning the manuscript to the eighth century. Bearing in mind, then, the date of this manuscript, which may be fairly placed in the middle of the eighth century, together with the fact that the Quicunque must have existed prior to the fragment, or rather to the sermon, of which it was originally a part, what a convincing proof have we here that the Creed was drawn up before the ninth century! I do not attempt to press the argument from this manuscript beyond this, which is all that is necessary for my present purpose. But plainly it may be (as it has been repeatedly) pressed further in proof of the Creed's higher antiquity, if the date of the sermon, of which this fragment is a part, is considered. For that sermon must have been preached some time, possibly some considerable time, before the manuscript was written. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and is at present numbered

Latin, 3836 ; it is sometimes called the Colbert manuscript, because it formerly belonged to the collection of the Minister Colbert. It is written in Lombardic characters, and contains a collection of Canons. The fragment is introduced incidentally after some documents relating to the Council of Chalcedon, with the words, “Haec invini Treveris in uno libro scriptum sic incipiente Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et reliqua.” The fragment itself has been printed by me (“Early History of the Athanasian Creed,” Appendix J., p. 408). A fac-simile of it, as I before said, is comprised among the publications of the Palæographical Society.

Dr. Lumby, after Dr. Swainson, takes an entirely different view of this Trèves fragment, regarding it as the groundwork of the latter part of the Quicunque—the embryo from which it was formed, as he considers the profession of Denebert the embryo of the first part.

23. The most interesting, as the most ancient, manuscript (the most ancient, at least, that is known of) of the Athanasian Creed is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Muratori, who was custodian of the library at the end of the seventeenth century, assigned it with confidence to the close of the seventh century ; Montfaucon believed it to have been written in the eighth ; and the present learned librarian, Dr. Ceriani, agrees with Montfaucon as to the date. No palæographical authority has ever placed it later than the eighth century. The codex comprises Gennadius, “De Ecclesiasticis Dog-

matibus," entitled, "dogmatis liber;" Bachiarus, "De Fide;" then the Quicunque, introduced without any title; a sermon on the Ascension; and the Creed of Danasus, here, as sometimes, entitled "Hieronymi Fides." It is written in an Irish hand, and may have been written in Ireland; the librarian is inclined to think it was. It was given to the Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, when he was collecting books for the Ambrosian Library, by the Benedictine Fathers at the commencement of the seventeenth century, as appears from a memorandum on the first folio, having previously belonged to the famous Monastery of Bobbio, in North Italy, which was founded by the Irish Saint Columbanus, A.D. 613. Feeling the great importance of this manuscript, I made a journey to Milan last September, on purpose to see it with my own eyes, and to hear with my own ears the opinion of the librarian in regard to its date. He unhesitatingly pronounced it to be of the eighth century; and some years ago he expressed the same opinion to the Dean of Chichester and to Dr. Swainson (Swainson, "The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds," p. 317). And his opinion is the more valuable as he is well acquainted with Irish manuscripts, in which the Ambrosian Library is very rich. This manuscript alone, even were there no other evidence, would be fatal to the hypothesis that the Athanasian Creed did not exist in its entirety before the ninth century. For it gives the Creed in substance, as we have it

now, in its entirety—without any material variations. The most remarkable variations which it presents are probably the results of the scribe's carelessness and inaccuracy, and show that he was copying from an earlier document. It is not so much as mentioned by Dr. Lumby in his paper in the S.P.C.K. Commentary. In his "History of the Creeds" he does notice it (pp. 217–219), and comes to the conclusion that "it cannot lay claim to a greater antiquity than A.D. 800, or it may even be as late as A.D. 850." What are his grounds for a conclusion so directly opposed, as we have seen, to all palæographical authority? In a former instance we found him putting back a manuscript to the ninth century which is assigned by Montfaucon to the eighth, because it contains no variations from the ordinary text; but this he puts back on account of its variations. And he mentions some as sufficient to support his position. Let us examine them in order.

The first he states as follows:—"In verse 5 the word *persona* is repeated both before 'Fili' and 'Spiritus Sancti,' an addition which, with others in the same verse, is also made by Archbishop Hincmar in his quotation." But on turning to Hincmar's work, "De Una non Trina Deitate," I find that, though he quotes this verse three times, he never once repeats *persona*, either before "Fili" or "Spiritus Sancti" (Migne, "Patrologia," tom. cxxv. pp. 499, 514, 531). Nor does he make any other additions. It is true that, in the doctrinal

formularly which he required Gotheschalcus to accept, he adopts the language of this verse and of other verses as well, supplementing it with language of his own, thus: "Alia et non aliud est persona Patris, alia et non aliud est persona Filii, alia et non aliud est persona Spiritus Sancti" (ibid., p. 616). But that is not a quotation, nor does Hincmar represent it to be so, as in the other instances, by attributing it to St. Athanasius. So that there are no grounds for asserting that Hincmar followed this reading. In truth, it is peculiar to this manuscript, and is found in no other copy. There cannot be the slightest reason for representing it as distinctive of the ninth century.

Dr. Lumby continues: "In verse 22, after *sed procedens*, this Ambrosian copy adds, *Patri et Filio coæternus est.*" And he adds that this variation "is of such a character as to stamp this manuscript with a date posterior to the great controversy on the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is an expansion and affirmation of the preceding portion of the verse, which could hardly be expected before that controversy had excited a considerable degree of attention, that is, at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century." This is, indeed, an astonishing argument; for, in the first place, the doctrines of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and of His coeternity with the Father and the Son, are perfectly distinct matters. The Eastern Church, though it denies the former

of these two doctrines, maintains the latter. And secondly, the doctrine of the coeternity of the Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son had been repeatedly and explicitly affirmed hundreds of years before, in opposition to the Arian and Macedonian heresies, by Catholic doctors, and particularly by the greatest of Latin Fathers, St. Augustine, whose writings in a surpassing degree contributed to mould the character of Western theology; and in the sixth century the denial of the doctrine was anathematized by the third Council of Toledo. So that it is really absurd to adduce these words as indicating that the manuscript was not written so early as the eighth century. No doubt they are wrongly added to the Creed, because they appear in no other copy. But their insertion is easily accounted for. In this manuscript, as I have before mentioned, the Quicunque is preceded by the "*Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*," commonly attributed to Gennadius, and Bachiarus, "*De Fide*," in both of which the Holy Spirit is described as "*Patri et Filio coæternus*," and in the latter these words follow immediately upon the word "*procedens*." What more natural than that the scribe, on arriving at the clause in the Quicunque relating to the procession of the Holy Spirit, should be reminded by it of words stating another important dogma concerning the same Divine Person, which he had met with in the two preceding documents, and be led to insert them by way of supplement? It

may be added that the coeternity of the Spirit with the Father and the Son is also affirmed by the Creed of Danasus, the last document contained in this manuscript. And these three formulæ, which thus enunciate the doctrine, are all considerably earlier than the eighth century.

Dr. Lumby continues: "In 30 and 35 for *rationalis* the adjective used is *rationabilis*, as in the Colbertine manuscript in the latter verse." But the thirty-fifth verse does not appear at all in the Colbertine manuscript, or rather the Trèves fragment. No doubt *rationabilis* is reproduced from the thirtieth verse in the Trèves fragment, but this does not prove the word to be a ninth century word, inasmuch as the Paris manuscript 3836, containing the fragment, or the Colbertine manuscript as Dr. Lumby describes it, is universally admitted to belong to the eighth century. The word also occurred in the lost Saint Germain's manuscript of the Creed—a document of the same early date, but is not found in any later copy, so that its appearance in the Ambrosian manuscript is really an evidence that that manuscript is not later than the eighth century.

Dr. Lumby's next instance does not help him any more. "In 33 this copy follows the Colbertine manuscript in reading, for *in carnem* and *in Deum* of our present version, *in carne* and *in Deo*." But *in carne* and *in Deo* appear, not only in "the Colbertine manuscript," but in all early manuscripts of the Quicunque, of the eighth century as well as the

ninth. *In carnem* and *in Deum* are seldom found but in late manuscripts. This, therefore, can prove nothing. And it is as little to the purpose to adduce the omission of “*tertia die*” in verse 36. The same omission occurred in the lost St. Germain’s manuscript of the eighth century, and is found in Paris 13,159—a manuscript, as we have seen, of the end of the same century. But the omission in the Ambrosian manuscript may be due simply to the carelessness or inaccuracy of the copyist, as it exhibits two other omissions, which are obviously traceable to the same cause—that of *sed patris et filii et spiritus sancti* in verse 6, and that of *ante sæcula genitus* in verse 29.

The last variation mentioned by Dr. Lumby is that “in verse 38 the whole clause, *resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et*,” is omitted; but here he has been misled by following Waterland, as Waterland was by following Muratori’s inaccurate copy. The clause is not omitted, as I can affirm from my own knowledge of the manuscript, having collated it myself; only it reads *in* for *cum*—a peculiar reading, which is found in no other manuscript, but is reproduced in the Trèves fragment, and may, therefore, as well as *rationabilis*, be regarded as an indication of antiquity. It is plain, then, that these variations, so far from furnishing any evidence that the manuscript is later than the eighth century, rather confirm us in the belief that it has been rightly assigned to that epoch.

24. The well-known Canon of Autun, requiring clergy to recite the Athanasian Creed, which is described as "the Faith of the holy Athanasius, prelate," as well as the Apostles' Creed, is another plain proof of the existence of the former confession of faith before the ninth century—indeed, considerably before it. It would be so, even were there no evidence of its connection with St. Leger, or Leodegar, because it is found in two systematic collections of Canons—collections, *i.e.*, in which the Canons are arranged according to their subject-matter—of the eighth century, the Herovall and the Angers, the latter being the source, though not the sole source, from which the other was drawn, and consequently the earlier of the two. The Angers collection, indeed, may even have been, and not improbably was, formed at the end of the seventh century. But both of them do connect the Canon with Leodegar. For they both contain, one at the beginning, the other at the end, a table or list of the several Synods at which the various Canons were enacted, together with the number and names of the subscribing bishops. In each the Autun Canons are mentioned the last on the list, as being the latest. The notice of them in the earlier collection is very remarkable, being simply a literal copy of Leodegar's consent. It appears thus in the Paris manuscript of this collection: "Consensum domno leutgario episcopo agustidensis, Ego leutgarius acsi peccator cum consensu fratrum meorum pol-

liciti sumus et perpetualiter placuit conservandum." I give it, for its character of lifelike reality, in the barbarous Latinity of the age. In the Herovall collection the corresponding notice is as follows:—"Canones Augustodunensium sancti Leodegarii episcopi." The necessary conclusion is that the Autun Canons contained in these collections, including that relating to the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds, were drawn up at a Synod of Autun, which was presided over by St. Leger, or Leodegar. And as he was Bishop of Autun from A.D. 661 to A.D. 678 (the year of his death), the date is fixed between these years. Probably the Synod was held about 670. As these are systematic collections, the Canon concerning the Creeds is placed separately and in a different chapter from the other Autun Canons, which relate to discipline. It appears at the beginning, or in the first chapter, which is headed, "De fide Catholica," and is called the first of the Autun Canons. It must be borne in mind that, whatever the date of this Canon, the *Quicunque* must have been extant and well known a considerable time prior to its enactment. Waterland speaks doubtfully of it, and gives it only as probable evidence; but clearly he was not in possession of the evidence arising from these two collections which recent research has brought to light.

25. The commentaries on the Athanasian Creed necessarily supply important evidence of its antiquity. I shall conclude the testimonies in support

of my contention by reference to two of them. The most ancient commentary is probably that attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, of which eight manuscript copies are known to be extant. It is only necessary to mention the dates of the four oldest of these codices. One in the Paris Library, to which I drew attention a few years ago, is of the end of the ninth century ; another, which the Rev. W. D. Macray found in the Bamberg Library, also a few years ago, is of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century ; in the Vienna Library is another copy, but imperfect, belonging to the ninth century ; the most ancient is in the Bodleian Library, and was assigned by the late learned librarian, Mr. Coxe, to the early part of the same century. And if the dates of these manuscripts were the only clue for determining the epoch when this commentary was composed, clearly it could not be placed later than the beginning of the ninth century. But it might in all probability be put earlier, because the Oxford copy is not at all likely to be the original or autograph copy. Indeed, there is every appearance that it is not so. Supposing, however, the commentary not to be earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, that alone would prove the Creed to have been composed before, and indeed considerably before, the same century. For what has been remarked with reference to the admission of the Quicunque to Psalters and to the services of the Church, holds

equally true in regard to its being made the subject of commentaries. Recent and unknown documents, which are not esteemed, or valued, or used, are not made the subject of commentaries. A commentary, therefore, implies the pre-existence of the document of which it is the subject—a pre-existence of some duration.

But besides the evidence of the date of this commentary derived from the manuscripts, there is other, internal, evidence to the same point, which carries up the date higher, and much higher, than the ninth century. For, first, one of the controversies which prevailed throughout Western Christendom at the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, had relation to the double Procession. Had the commentary been composed at that epoch, it would have almost inevitably given prominence to the doctrine then debated. But it does not do so. It states the doctrine simply and incidentally, without laying any marked stress upon it. It even omits to quote the verse of the Creed relating to the Procession. Similarly, another subject discussed at the same period among Western theologians, perhaps with still greater fervency and earnestness, was the heresy of Adoptionism; and had the commentary been written towards the close of the eighth or at the beginning of the ninth century, it would not have failed to contain some expression critically condemnatory of the heresy of the time, such as that Jesus is the *proper*, not

the *adoptive* or *nuncupative* Son of God. But there is a marked absence of such expressions, though, at the same time, there were obvious opportunities for introducing them. These are merely negative arguments, but they are confirmed, and more than confirmed, by some positive internal evidence, showing that the commentary was written some time before A.D. 800. In reference to the words, "in sæculo natus," in verse 29, the commentator adds, "*Id est in isto sexto milliario in quo nunc sumus.*" According to the Eusebian chronology, which was generally accepted in the West at this period, the close of the sixth millenary from the Creation would be coincident, or very nearly so, with the close of the eighth century. So that these words must have been written before the termination of that century, and in all probability were written considerably—it may be two centuries—before. For had they been written when the sixth millenary was drawing to a close, some expression would naturally have been used implying that such was the case. I need scarcely add that the sixth milliary, or millenary, is perfectly distinct from the sixth age, or *ætas*, which was an indefinite period, reaching from the first to the second coming of our Lord. For this argument for the antiquity of Fortunatus's commentary I am indebted to a valuable pamphlet by Professor Heurtley, published in 1872. It will be observed that it is perfectly independent of the doubtful fact of its authorship

by Venantius Fortunatus, the evidence for which seems to me to be inconclusive, although I hesitate to differ from Waterland, by whom it was accepted.

26. The other commentary which I would adduce as affording evidence of the existence of the Athanasian Creed in its entirety prior to the ninth century, is that which was edited by Cardinal Mai, in his "*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*," tom. ix.; and in the last century by Pinius, in his edition of "*Liturgia Antiqua, Hispanica, Gothica, etc.*," from a Vatican manuscript of the tenth century; and by myself from a manuscript at Troyes of the same epoch, and which I have called, for convenience' sake, the Oratorian commentary ("*Early History of the Athanasian Creed*," by Rev. G. D. W. Ommanney, Appendix, p. 327). Prefixed to this commentary in the Vatican manuscript is a preface, in which the following remarkable testimony to the antiquity of the Quicunque occurs:—"Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandriæ ecclesiæ antistite sit editum; ita namque semper eum vidi prætitulatum etiam in veteribus codicibus." Now, supposing we put this commentary at the very latest date at which it could have been composed considering the date of the manuscripts in which it is found, we learn, from these words of its author, that at the beginning of the tenth century ancient manuscripts of the Quicunque were extant, in which it was assigned to St. Athanasius. And these ancient manuscripts could not be conceived to be less than

two hundred years old, or later than the first half of the eighth century. And there is no room for doubt as to what the document was which the commentator thus alludes to as being extant in old manuscripts in his time and attributed to Athanasius ; for he quotes the whole of the Creed, verse by verse, adding his comments upon it. I have on a former occasion (" Early History of the Athanasian Creed," pp. 27-33) produced reasons for believing this commentary to have been drawn up at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century ; and if my reasons are good, then a proportionably higher antiquity must be assigned to these old copies of the Athanasian Creed of which the commentator speaks. But, for the purpose of my present argument, it is not necessary to insist upon this higher antiquity which I believe may be claimed for them.

I think I have now shown to demonstration that there is abundant evidence of the Athanasian Creed being a work of earlier date than the ninth century. I have shown this, first, from the historical facts that, in the early part of that century, it was extensively used in the offices of the Church, and believed to be the composition of St. Athanasius ; and secondly, by eleven proofs, all, as I believe, conclusive, founded upon documents earlier than A.D. 800, which are in existence at the present day, or of which, though now lost or perished, we are credibly informed, as having been formerly

extant. Proof, too, has been produced by me either of the untenableness or the futility of the five propositions which the Christian Knowledge Society sets before the teachers and students of the rising generation "as the most assured points" in the history of the Quicunque.

In regard to the first of these, that "no trustworthy document of the nature of a confession called by the name of Athanasius" is found "before A.D. 809," I have shown that in one if not three manuscripts written before that date and now extant, it is found in its entirety and expressly attributed to Athanasius (see above, Nos. 19, 13, 14); that in two more it appears but without any title (above, Nos. 17, 23); and in another we have the commencing verses, also without title, the remainder having been accidentally torn away (above, No. 18); also that in another manuscript written before this date, now probably lost, but which was certainly extant in the last century, it was contained whole and attributed to Athanasius (above, No. 21); also that before this epoch—probably considerably before—it was commonly ascribed to him in manuscripts (above, No. 26); also that it is found in the appendix to an ancient collection of Canons, which, in the judgment of the Ballerini, was drawn up in the eighth century, the collection itself being of the sixth, and here again it is ascribed to him (above, No. 20); and lastly, that it was ordered to be learnt by the clergy in a Canon of the seventh century, which again ascribed

it to him (above, No. 24). For it is impossible to suppose that anything but the Quicunque could be referred to by the Canon of Autun. Though other professions of faith have been attributed to St. Athanasius, none of them was ever required to be learnt by the clergy, or said in the services of the Church.

Then the second proposition, that before A.D. 809 "two separate compositions existed which form the basis of the Quicunque," is refuted by the plain and abundant evidence of its existence in its entirety before that date. Besides, it is clearly absurd to describe as separate compositions that part (it is only a part) of the confession of Bishop Denebert, in which he employs some verses of the Athanasian Creed as a brief exposition of his faith in the Holy Trinity; and the fragment of Trèves, which is manifestly a fragment, commencing abruptly with the words, "*Domini nostri Jhesu Christi fideliter credat.*"

In regard to the third, "that for a long time all quotations were made from a portion, and that very limited, of the first half of our Creed"—be it that in the early part of the ninth century—the quotations by authors are drawn from the first part only of the Creed, the fact can have no significance in face of the evidence of the Creed's existence as a whole, not only at that time, but previously; and it is accounted for by the circumstance of their being all, with one exception, made in reference to the doctrine of the Procession, at that period one of the chief subjects of debate, to which the second

part of the Creed is quite irrelevant; while it would have been to no purpose to have quoted the Quicunque at all in relation to the heresy of Adoptionism, the other great subject of controversy in the early part of the ninth century, inasmuch as it contains nothing specially and critically applicable to the subject. Agobard's quotation, the exceptional case, had respect to the necessity of the belief in the Catholic faith. He only quoted the second verse. Hincmar, as I have pointed out, employed the language of the latter as well as the former part of the Creed.

In regard to the fourth proposition, "that the whole Quicunque as one document was not known down to A.D. 813, among those who were most likely to have known of it had it been in existence," I have not only drawn attention to the very precarious character of the arguments on which this proposition is based, but I have produced positive evidence of its untruth. For how can we suppose the Athanasian Creed to have been unknown to Charles the Great and the divines of his realm, when we have in our hands at this day two Psalters containing it in its entirety, in one of which petitions are offered for that monarch and his children, while the other is dedicated to him by the writer and is recorded to have been presented by him to the Church of Bremen? when, moreover, we find one of his most favoured theologians, Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, who is

stated to have been present at the Council of Frankfort, formally admonishing his clergy to commit it to memory, and thoroughly to understand it, and quoting several verses of it in a treatise written by Charlemagne's order and dedicated to him (see above, Nos. 10 and 11)? when, still further, we find another of his divines, in all probability Alcuin, in a work also dedicated to him, twice quoting it and describing it as the "Exposition of the Catholic faith," which "the universal Church confesses" (above, No. 15), thus showing that it must have been commonly used at the time in Western Christendom? As these treatises were dedicated to Charles, who died in the beginning of the year 814, they could scarcely have failed to have been written before 813; and if one of them had Alcuin for its author, it must have been composed before 804.

The last proposition, or assured point, is as follows:—"That it, *i.e.*, the Quicunque, is found nearly as we use it A.D. 870, but the manuscripts show that the text was not at first precisely settled." I have enumerated eight manuscripts, all certainly earlier than the Prayer-book or Psalter of Charles the Bald—which Dr. Lumby considers the earliest copy extant of the Athanasian Creed, and assigns to A.D. 870—some of them much earlier, in all of which the Creed appears complete as we have it now. The same may be said concerning the lost St. Germain's manuscript, mentioned by Montfaucon, the text of which is known to us by the various readings preserved

by Waterland. Among these manuscripts, of course, I do not include the Trèves fragment—often, but most incorrectly, described as the Colbertine manuscript of the Athanasian Creed, for it is not really a copy of it at all. In the early copies of the Creed the text appears without any substantial variation or important diversity. There is no evidence of its having passed through a state of transition or growth, or of its ever being materially different in substance or form from what it now is.

I have abstained from adducing the Bouhier and Oratorian and Troyes commentaries as evidences of the existence of the Athanasian Creed prior to the ninth century, although I believe them all to have been composed before that epoch. For it seemed to me that there was ample evidence of the truth of my contention without appealing to them. And had I done so, I might have been told that I assumed the correctness of the dates which I had assigned myself, and based my proof upon the assumption. My grounds for arriving at the conclusion that these commentaries were drawn up before the ninth century are before the world ("Early History of the Athanasian Creed," pp. 27–34). *Valeant quantum valent*. If they are sound and valid, then each of these commentaries is an additional proof in support of my position, and they carry up the Creed to a higher antiquity. Nor have I adduced on the present occasion any evidence which seemed to me to be only of a probable nature,

such as is supplied by the Canon of Frankfort, which Waterland refers to the Athanasian Creed ; or the Canon of the sixth century, which the Ballerini have drawn attention to, requiring it to be learnt by the clergy ; or the abbreviated Psalter attributed to Bede, which makes mention of it ; or the sermon in the appendix to St. Augustine, believed by the Benedictine editors to be the work of Cæsarius of Arles ; or another, belonging to the early part of the sixth century, edited by me from two Paris manuscripts, both of which reproduce the language of the Quicunque. My object has been to rest my case solely upon demonstrative evidence.

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